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ART. I. — *Life of Joseph Brant, [Thayendanegea] ; including the Border Wars of the American Revolution, and Sketches of the Indian Campaigns of Generals Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne, &c. &c.* By WILLIAM L. STONE. In Two Volumes. New York : George Dearborn & Co. 1838. 8vo. pp. 513 and 601.

THE border wars of the American Revolution were full of deep interest. The Indian tribes, having long fought to no purpose against the power of Britain, which seemed ever ready to support the "Long-Knives" in their encroachments upon Indian lands, suddenly found the state of things reversed. The red-coats were with *them*. White had turned against white, brother against brother ; and the English everywhere cheered on the savage against the very settlers who were, the year before, English themselves. The red men were, and well might be, puzzled at this sudden division of their old foes into British and "*Bostonais*" ; but in it they saw cause for hope. The spirit of Pontiac bade them be of good cheer, and strike once more for their homes and hunting-grounds. From Lake Superior, along the North to Maine, and southward to the Gulf of Mexico, the oppressed and broken tribes took courage again ; and, had Tecumthé then been but a full-grown man, God alone knows what

might have been the result of our own Revolution. For, had the Western tribes been guided by one spirit, and that acting in concert with the power of England, the "stations" of Kentucky would soon have been tenantless ; and, with the West in possession of Britain and her red allies, man cannot say how our armies might have withstood the enemy.

But it was not so ordered. Pontiac was dead ; Tecumthé a little child ; and Brant, able as he was, had neither the temper nor position of those great chieftains. If he was not a half-breed,* neither was he in training and tone a full Indian.

The border wars of the Revolution, we say, were full of interest. They were the wars of a falling race, struggling for all that was dear to them ; and, though we must shudder over the bloodshed and the burnings, we cannot compare the acts of the savage man with those of the civilized and Christian man of those days, without feeling pity and sympathy for the former. What was the scalp-taker of the wilderness, in point of atrocity, when measured with the scalp-buyer, Hamilton ? What were the worst acts of the red men, when placed side by side with the massacre on the Muskingum ? †

These wars, Mr. Stone has proposed to himself to delineate. But we do not think his plan a happy one. His history is less a living whole, than a skeleton hung together with wires. Had he written Brant's life, and, in a separate work, given us the history of the wars, we believe his purpose would have been much better answered. As it is, his volumes contain a little of the common Revolutionary history, and a little of the Backwoods history, and a little of Brant, and a little of many other people. And yet they are full of good and rare matter ; nay, of matter that has never appeared before. We owe Mr. Stone many thanks for his industry in collecting, but very few for his judgment in selecting materials. We fear, also, that he did himself injustice by writing hastily. A complex history needs to simmer a long while in the author's brain ; and one of more than eleven hundred pages is not to be prepared in a few months, or even one or two years. However, though the work before us wants unity, clearness, and a sustained interest, it is valuable for its facts, and abounds in curious and interesting

* Some suppose Brant to have been the son of Sir William Johnson. See Stone, *Life of Brant*, Vol. I. pp. 1, 2.

† For an account of Hamilton and of the Moravian massacre see below.

details. The general reader may nod over it, but the historical student will prize, and often refer to it. We would that there were more of such collectors as Mr. Stone. They are of incalculable value ; and though rather to be ranked as quarriers than architects, they are entitled to feel and say, that, without them, temples could not be built.

Mr. Stone has not, then, as we think, written such a history of the Border Wars of the American Revolution as might, and should be written. Nor do we know, that, among all our writers, any one has this subject in hand. Why is it not undertaken by some one of the many competent to its successful treatment ?

To understand the border wars of the Revolution, we must first understand the position of the Indians when those wars began.

In the remote northeast, were the Penobscots and their kindred tribes ; while amid those wild regions, through which Arnold passed on his way to Quebec, dwelt “ Natanis, the last of the Norridgewocks,” with the poor remnants of those nations, among whom Father Ralle, the Catholic,* long labored, but who were too poor, even in 1775, to stop, or annoy the troops which were toiling along the Kennebec and Dead River, on their way to the capital of Lower Canada.†

In New Hampshire were a few lingering bands of the Penacooks, and other warrior tribes of that Granite land. In Massachusetts there remained the portion of the Mohegans, called the Stockbridge Indians, together with a few Pequots and Narragansets. In New York, still stood that famous and much-feared alliance, known as the Iroquois, or Six Nations ; an alliance from of old bound to England by strong ties, and, at the opening of the Revolution, under the direct control of the Johnson family, a set of staunch Tories. To the south of the Six Nations were the Delawares, a race of the most noble character, and whose councils were divided between those who wished to throw off the yoke of the white man, and those who saw that the white man must rule, and wished to live in peace and good faith with him. West of the Six Nations and the Delawares, that is to say, west of the Muskingum river, in what is now the State of Ohio, came the Shawanese, fierce, bold, cruel, and wholly adverse to the

* See *Lettres Edifiantes*.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. III. p. 112.

Europeans ; the Wyandots, of whom it was said, in after days, that one could not be taken alive ; the Miamis, once the head of a confederacy mightier even than that of the Iroquois, and still strong and determined ; the Ottawas, Chippewas, and all the painted nations of the northwest. South of this great band, and on the other side of those Kentucky stations, which had sprung up between the rival nations of the north and south, lay the Creeks, Chickasaws, Cherokees, and Catawbas ; while, in the extreme southern country, though not within the limits of the British colonies, were the Seminoles, and other yet unconquered races of the *hammocks* and swamps.

Thus was the little band of Provinces fairly hemmed in by the tribes of red men ; most of them certain foes.

The influence which these tribes might have upon the Revolutionary contest, was evident to both parties. Lord Dunmore, in the autumn of 1774, made peace with the Shawanese upon the Scioto, and stopped the progress of the Virginians, who had just gained a victory at Point Pleasant, under the undoubted influence of calculations, respecting the policy of having a strong force to hang upon the rear of the rebellious colonists.* He also, by his course, pacified the Six Nations, who had taken some part in that war. It arose, indeed, out of the wrongs done to Logan and a few others, and was immortalized by the speech of Logan, and he was a Cayuga.† In truth, the influence of the Indians could not be lost sight of ; for, notwithstanding the peace of Fort Charlotte, made by Dunmore, the Shawanese of the Miami valleys never ceased from annoying the settlers within striking distance ; in March, 1775, Boone and his party of surveyors, then engaged in laying out the first road in Kentucky, lost several men by the Indians ; and from that time forward a partisan warfare was kept up.‡

In the north, meanwhile, the Americans had seen the dangers to be feared from the action of the Indians, and early in April the Provincial Congress of Massachusetts wrote to the Reverend Samuel Kirkland, then a missionary among the Oneidas, informing him, that, having heard that the British

* See Doddridge's *Notes*, p. 236.

† For proofs of the feelings of the Iroquois with regard to Dunmore's war, see Stone, Vol. I. pp. 65 and 68.

‡ Butler's *Kentucky*, 2d ed. p. 27.

were trying to attach the Six Nations to their interest, it had been thought proper to ask the several tribes, through him, to stand neutral. Steps were also taken to secure the co-operation, if possible, of the Penobscot and Stockbridge Indians; the latter of whom replied, that, though they never could understand what the quarrel between the Provinces and Old England was about, yet they would stand by the Americans. They also offered to "feel the mind" of the Iroquois, and try to bring them over.*

But the Iroquois were not to be easily won over by any means. Sir William Johnson, so long the King's agent among them, and to whom they looked with the confidence of children in a father, had died suddenly, in June, 1774, and the wild men had been left under the influence of Colonel Guy Johnson, Sir William's son-in-law, who succeeded him as Superintendent, and of John Johnson, Sir William's son, who succeeded to his estates and honors. Both these men were Tories; and their influence in favor of England was increased by that of Mr. Stone's hero, Brant, now nearly thirty-three years old. This trio, acting in conjunction with some of the rich old royalists along the Mohawk, opposed the whole movement of the Bostonians, the whole spirit of the Philadelphia Congress, and every attempt, open or secret, in favor of the rebels. Believing Mr. Kirkland to be little better than a Whig in disguise, and fearing that he might alienate the tribe, in which he was, from their old faith, and, through them, influence the others, the Johnsons, while the war was still bloodless, made strong efforts to remove him from his position. Of these efforts Mr. Stone speaks at some length, though with a confusion of dates, as we read his account. The first attempt was made, he says, in February, 1775 (Vol. I. p. 60). The cause of this attempt, he suggests, was a correspondence which took place the following April (p. 55). It failed, however, but was renewed and succeeded in the spring, as appears by a letter, dated January 9th (p. 61).†

* Stone, Vol. I. pp. 55-58. — Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. III. pp. 495, 496.

† The date, "January," may be a misprint for "June"; but we think not, as no reference is made in the letter to the communication from Massachusetts, as a cause of suspicion. Mr. Stone is a little careless. Thus (p. 64) he refers to Guy Johnson's fears of seizure in May, and says, that Schuyler had his eye on him, and gives as authority Washington's order to Schuyler in the following month.

Nor were the fears of the Johnsons groundless, as is shown by another of the original papers presented us by Mr. Stone, the address of the Oneida Indians to the New England Governors, in which they state their intention of remaining neutral during so unnatural a quarrel as that just then commencing. But this intention the leading tribe of the great Indian confederacy meant to disturb, if possible. The idea was suggested, that Guy Johnson was in danger of being seized by the Bostonians, and an attempt was made to rally about him the savages as a body-guard ; while he, on his part, wrote to the neighbouring magistrates, holding out to them, as a terror, the excitement of the Indians, and the dangers to be feared from their rising, if he were seized, or their rights interfered with.

So stood matters in the Mohawk valley, during the month of May, 1775. The Johnsons were gathering a little army, which soon amounted to five hundred men ; and the Revolutionary committees, resolute never to yield one hair's breadth, " never to submit to any arbitrary acts of any power under heaven," were denouncing Colonel Guy's conduct as " arbitrary, illegal, oppressive, and unwarrantable." In truth, the Colonel was fast getting obnoxious. " Watch him," wrote Washington to General Schuyler in June ; and, even before that order was given, what with the Tryon county men above him on the river, and the whole Provincial force below him, he was likely to be well watched. Finding himself thus fettered, and feeling it to be time to take some decided step, the Superintendent, early in June, began in move westward, accompanied by his dependents and the great body of the Mohawk Indians, who remained firm in the British interests.* He moved first to Fort Stanwix, (afterwards Fort Schuyler, near the present town of Rome,) and then went on to Ontario, where he arrived early in July, and held a Congress with thirteen hundred and forty warriors, whose old attachment to England was then and there renewed. Joseph Brant, be it noted, during all this time, was acting as the Superintendent's secretary.

All of the Six Nations, except the Oneidas and Tuscaroras, might now be deemed in alliance with the British. Those tribes, chiefly through the exertions of Mr. Kirk-

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 77.

land, were prevented from going with the others, and upon the 28th of June, at German Flats, gave to the Americans a pledge of neutrality.*

While the members of the Northern Confederacy were thus divided in their attachments, the Delawares of the upper Ohio were by no means unanimous in their opinions as to this puzzling family quarrel which was coming on ; and Congress, having been informed on the first day of June, that the Western Virginians stood in fear of the Indians, with whom Lord Dunmore, in his small way, was, as they thought, tampering,† it was determined to have a Congress called at Pittsburg, to explain to the poor red men the causes of the sudden division of their old enemies, and try to persuade them to keep peace. This Congress did not meet, however, until October.‡

Nor was it from the northern and western tribes only, that hostilities were feared. The Cherokees and their neighbours were much dreaded, and not without cause ; as they were then less under the control of the whites, than either the Iroquois or Delawares, and might, in the hope of securing their freedom, be led to unite, in a warfare of extermination, against the Carolinas. We find, accordingly, that early in July, Congress having determined to seek the alliance of the several Indian nations, three departments were formed ; § a northern one, including the Six Nations and all north and east of them, to the charge of which General Schuyler, Oliver Wolcott, and three others, were appointed ; a middle department, including the western Indians, who were to be looked to by Messieurs Franklin, Henry, and Wilson ; and a southern department, including all the tribes south of Kentucky, over which commissioners were to preside under the appointment of the South Carolina Council of Safety. These commissioners were to keep a close watch upon the nations in their several departments, and upon the King's Superintendents among them. These officers they were to seize, if they had reason to think them engaged in stirring up the natives against the colonies, and in all ways were to seek to keep those natives quiet and out of the contest. *Talks* were also prepared to send to the several tribes, in which an attempt was made to illustrate the relations between England

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 81.† *Old Journals*, Vol. I. p. 78.‡ Heckewelder's *Narrative*, p. 136.§ *Old Journals*, Vol. I. p. 113, &c.

and America, by comparing the last to a child ordered to carry a pack too heavy for its strength. The boy complains, and, for answer, the pack is made still heavier. Again and again the poor urchin remonstrates, but the bad servants misrepresent the matter to the father, and the boy gets ever a heavier burden, till at last, almost broken-backed, he throws off the load altogether, and says he will carry it no longer. This allegory was intended to make the matter clear to the pack-carrying red men, and, if we may judge from Hecke-welder's account, it answered the purpose ; for, he says, the Delawares reported the whole story very correctly. Indeed, he gives their report upon the 137th page of his "Narrative," which report agrees very well with the original speech, preserved to us in the Journals of the Old Congress.*

The first conference, held by the commissioners, was in the northern department, a grand congress coming together at Albany in August. Of this congress a full account may be found in Colonel Stone's first volume.† It did not, however, fully represent the Six Nations, and some, even of those who were present, immediately afterwards deserted to the British ; so that the result was slight.

The next conference was held at Pittsburg with the western Indians. This was in October, and was attended by the Delawares, Senecas, and, perhaps, some of the Shawanese. The Delaware nation were, as we have already said, divided in their views touching the Americans. One of their chieftains, known to us as Captain White-Eyes, a man, as it would seem, of high character and clear mind, of courage such as became the leader of a race, whose most common virtues were those of the wildman, and of a forbearance and kindness as unusual, as fearlessness was frequent, among his people, — this true man was in favor of peace ; and his influence carried with him a strong party. But there were others, again, who longed for war, and wished to carry the whole nation over to the British interest. These were led by a cunning and talented man, called Captain Pipe, who, without the energy, moral daring, and unclouded honesty of his opponent, had many qualities admirably suited to win and rule Indians. Between these two men there was a division from the beginning of the Revolution till the death

* Vol. I. p. 115.

† pp. 94 – 104. Appendix iv. – xxxi.

of White-Eyes. At the Pittsburg Conference, the Peace-Chief, as he was called, was present, and there asserted his freedom of the Six Nations, who, through their emissaries present, tried to bend the Delawares, as they had been used to do. His bold denial of the claim of the Iroquois to rule his people, was seized upon, by some of the war-party, as a pretext for leaving the Muskingum, where White-Eyes lived, and withdrawing toward Lake Erie, into the more immediate vicinity of the English and their allies.

The Shawanese and their neighbours, meantime, had taken counsel with Guy Johnson at Oswego,* and might be considered as in league with the king. Indeed, we can neither wonder at, nor blame these bewildered savages for leaguings themselves with any power *against* those actual occupants of their hunting-grounds, who were, here and there in Kentucky, building block-houses and clearing corn-fields. Against those block-houses and their builders, little bands of red men continually kept sallying forth, supplied with ammunition from Detroit and the other western posts, and incited to exertion by the well-known stimulants of whiskey and fine clothes.†

However, it is hardly correct to say, that this was done in 1775, though the arrangements were, beyond doubt, made in that year; Colonel Johnson having visited Montreal, immediately after the council with the Shawanese and others at Oswego, for the purpose of concluding with the British governor and general upon his future course.

During 1775, therefore, there was no border war, if we except the small predatory incursions into Kentucky. In the South all remained quiet; in the West there were doubt and uneasiness, without action; in the North, a distinct siding with the King by the great part of the Indians, though no warfare.

But the next year found the mass of the red men openly in arms against the colonies. Brant, who had gone to Canada in the pacific guise of Colonel Johnson's secretary, in 1776 appeared at the head of the most numerous tribes of the Iroquois, threatening, with all the horrors of Indian warfare, the valley of the Mohawk.‡ His preparation for this service was of a curious nature, being nothing less than a visit to London, where for a time he was the lion of the city,

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 102. † Ibid., Vol. I. p. 187. ‡ Ibid., Vol. I. p. 149.

and particularly patronized by Boswell, for whom he had his portrait taken. Returning thence in time to be present at, and share in, the battle of the Cedars in May, he, for unknown reasons, suffered the summer and autumn to pass without taking any decisive step ; keeping the poor women and children of Cherry Valley and the neighbouring settlements in a state of continual anxiety to no purpose.

In the West, however, there was more of movement. Traders were stripped, men slain, and stations attacked. The Shawanese and the Wyandots were both at war for England ; and great efforts were made to involve the Delawares.*

But it was in the South, that the border wars of our Revolution first broke out in all their strength and horror. Upon the 30th of July, Congress was informed, that the Cherokees had commenced hostilities ; and from that time, or rather from the 15th of that month, when the war began, until the middle of October, the forces of the Carolinas, Georgia, and Virginia, were engaged in one of those protracted contests which have ever marked the struggles of the whites and southern Indians. But at length Colonel Andrew Williamson, who commanded the South Carolina forces, carried his arms into the interior of the Cherokee country, destroyed their villages, and brought them to terms. Of the details of this war we know very little. The causes of it, the means by which the Indians were induced to rise, and all the after-steps, have been but very imperfectly exhibited, as yet, by any writer. We trust, however, that some one, with the industry and perseverance of Mr. Stone, may be led to turn his attention that way, and compile the Annals, if not the History, of that time in the South.†

The year 1776 might be said, then, to have passed without any serious injury to the colonists from the various tribes, although it was clear, that those tribes were to be looked on as engaged in the war, and that the majority of them were with the mother country. Through the West and Northwest, where the agents of England could act to the greatest advantage, dissatisfaction spread rapidly. The nations, nearest

* Heckewelder and Butler.

† Holmes *Annals*, Vol. II. p. 258. — *Journals of the Old Congress*. — Ramsay, &c. — Washington (Sparks's Ed. Vol. III. p. 210) refers to evidences of efforts on the part of Britain to engage the southern savages in 1775.

the Americans, found themselves pressed upon and harassed by the more distant bands, and, through the whole winter of 1776-7, rumors were flying along the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania, of coming troubles. Nor were the good people of New York less disturbed in their minds, the settlers upon the Mohawk and upper Susquehanna standing in continual dread of incursion.* No incursion, however, took place during the winter or spring of 1777; though why the blow was delayed is what we cannot well know, until Great Britain has magnanimity enough to unveil her past acts, and, acknowledging her follies and sins, to show the world the various steps to that union of the savages against her foes, which her noble Chatham denounced as a "disgrace," and "deep and deadly sin."

That blow was delayed, however; and, alas! was struck, at length, after, and as if in retaliation for, one of those violent acts of wrong, which must ever be expected from a frontier people. We refer to the murder of Cornstalk, the leading chieftain of the Scioto Shawanese; a man, whose energy, courage, and good sense, place him among the very foremost of the native heroes of this land.† This truly great man, who was himself for peace, but who found all his neighbours, and even those of his own tribe, stirred up to war by the agents of England, went over to the American fort at Point Pleasant, at the mouth of the Great Kenhawa, in order to talk the matter over with Captain Arbuckle, who commanded there, and with whom he was acquainted. This was early in the summer of 1777. The Americans, knowing the Shawanese to be inclining to the enemy, thought it would be a good plan to retain Cornstalk and Redhawk, a younger chief of note, who was with him, and make them hostages for the good conduct of their people. The old warrior, accordingly, after he had finished his statement of the position he was in, and the necessity under which he and his friends would be of "going with the stream," unless the Long-Knives could protect them, found, that, in seeking counsel and safety, he had walked into a trap, and was fast there. However, he folded his arms, and, with Indian calmness, waited the issue. The day went by. The next morning came, and from the opposite shore was heard an Indian hail,

* *Journals of the Old Congress.* — Stone, &c.

† See Stone, Vol. I. p. 191. — Doddridge's *Indian Wars*, &c.

known to be from Ellinipsico, the son of Cornstalk. The Americans brought him also into their toils as a hostage, and were thankful that they had thus secured to themselves peace ; — as if iniquity and deception ever secured that first condition of all good ! Another day rolled by, and the three captives sat waiting what time would bring. On the third day, two savages, unknown to the whites, shot one of the white hunters, toward evening. Instantly the dead man's comrades raised the cry, " Kill the red dogs in the fort." Arbuckle tried to stop them, but they were men of blood, and their wrath was up. The Captain's own life was threatened, if he offered any hindrance. They rushed to the house where the captives were confined ; Cornstalk met them at the door, and fell, pierced with seven bullets ; his son and Redhawk died also, less calmly than their veteran companion, and more painfully. From that hour peace was not to be hoped for.

But this treachery, closed by murder, on the part of the Americans, though perhaps the immediate cause of the outbreak in the West, was not, in any degree, the cause of the great border war. Two years had been spent by Britain in arranging and organizing that war. Cornstalk fell into the snare, because that war was organized. Before his death the whole Cherokee contest was begun and ended, and Brant, in person, had commanded an expedition against Cherry Valley, which was attended with slight results, but was still proof of the condition of matters and the temper of men. And, almost at the moment when Cornstalk was dying upon the banks of the Ohio, there was a Congress gathering at Oswego, under the eye of Colonel Johnson, " to eat the flesh and drink the blood of a Bostonian " ; in other words, to arrange finally the measures which should be taken against the devoted rebels by Christian brethren and their heathen allies.*

And here, before entering upon the actual bloodshed, it may be as well, perhaps, to say what we have to say upon the comparative merits, or demerits, of the parties to the revolutionary contest, in respect to their measures for the employment of the Indians.

The first mention of the subject, which we meet with, is in the Address of the Massachusetts Congress to the Iro-

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 186.

quois, in April, 1775. In that they say, that they hear the British are exciting the savages against the colonies ; and they ask the Six Nations to aid them, or stand quiet.* It would seem, then, that, even before the battle of Lexington, both parties had applied to the Indians, and sought an alliance. Nor was this strange or reprehensible. Both parties had been used to the employment of the natives in contests between the whites, and both knew that a portion of the coming struggle, at least, must be inland, among the tribes of red men, and that those tribes could not be expected to stand wholly neutral. In the outset, therefore, both parties were of the same mind and pursued the same course. The Congress of the United Colonies, however, during 1775, and until the summer of 1776, advocated merely the attempt to keep the Indians out of the contest entirely, and instructed the commissioners, appointed in the several departments, to do so. But England was of another mind. Promises and threats were both used to induce the savages to act with her,† though, at first, it would seem, to little purpose, even the Canada tribe of Caghnawagas having offered their aid to the Americans. When Britain, however, became victorious in the North, and particularly after the battle of the Cedars, in May, 1776, the wild men began to think of holding to her side, their policy being, most justly, in all quarrels of the whites, to stick by the strongest. Then it was, in June, 1776, that Congress resolved to do what *Washington had advised in the previous April*, that is, to employ the savages in active warfare. Upon the 19th of April the Commander-in-chief wrote to Congress, saying, that, as the Indians would soon be engaged, either for or against, he would suggest, that they be employed for the colonies ;‡ upon the 3d of May, the report on this was considered ; upon the 25th of May, it was resolved to be highly expedient to engage the Indians for the American service ; and, upon the 3d of June, the General was empowered to raise two thousand to be employed in Canada. Upon the 17th of June, Washington was authorized to employ them where he pleased, and to offer them rewards for prisoners ; and, upon the 8th of July, he was empowered to call

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. III. p. 495. † *Ibid.*, p. 55. ‡ *Ibid.*, p. 364.

out as many of the Nova Scotia and neighbouring tribes as he saw fit.*

Such was the course of proceeding, on the part of the colonies, with regard to the employment of the Indians. The steps, at the time, were secret, but now the whole story is before the world. Not so, however, with regard to the acts of England; as to them, we have the records of but few placed within our reach. One thing, however, is known, namely, that, while the colonies offered their allies of the woods rewards for *prisoners*, some of the British agents gave them money for *scalps*.† And this leads us to speak of a distinction, which we would have kept in mind by those who read our remarks, with regard to the employment of the savages. It is this; that whatever tends to produce animosity between the individuals of two warring nations is to be avoided, as leading inevitably to enmity during peace, and thence to renewed war. The great cause of the bitterness of frontier and civil wars, is the individual hatred that mingles with, and envenoms, the public hostility. This same individual feeling had much to do with the perpetual warfare of those times, when men fought hand to hand, instead of destroying whole ranks by cannon and musket shot; and the production of this individual feeling is one of the great, *peculiar* objections to privateering. Now, so far as the employment of the Indians helped to produce this personal, rather than public hatred, we think it wholly objectionable. We do not see, that it would help to do this necessarily, and we do not learn, that it did in fact. But the British plan of paying the savages for scalps, and thus setting a bounty on murder, one may well conceive, would produce personal, angry feelings, because it was unusual; whereas the employment of the red men, as between those warring in America, was not so.

We regard the British, then, as more culpable than the colonists in three respects; first, for trying to involve the Indians, in the South, West, and North, *from the outset*, ‡ whereas the Americans tried to keep them out of the contest for more than a year; secondly, for offering money for scalps,

* *Secret Journals*, Vol. I. pp. 43 - 47.

† Jefferson's *Writings*, Vol. I. p. 456.

‡ Not culpable because the natives were savages, but because they were not in war, and the British sought to involve them in war. The wrong would have been the same, had it been a civilized neighbour whom they sought to bring into the quarrel.

an unusual measure, and one calculated to irritate individual feeling ; and thirdly, for keeping the whole matter in the dark to this day.

Having disposed, thus summarily, of a point that might be discoursed on through twenty pages or more, we return to our history.

It was some time in July, probably, that Guy Johnson, with his loyalist and Indian friends, ate their Bostonian at Oswego. He was there, soon after, joined by Colonel St. Leger, with about two hundred British regulars, who, in conjunction with the Tories and savages, were to move up the river, and across to Fort Schuyler, and thence down the Mohawk to join Burgoyne on the Hudson. It was a pleasantly arranged plan, and does credit to the British ministers. New England, containing the most rebellious of the rebel provinces, was to be cut off from her sisters, and the same blow which did this was to clear the Mohawk Valley of its Whig population, and so leave all north of New York the King's own. A good plan it was ; but it failed. Burgoyne, as we all know, found a lion in his path ; and his coöperator, St. Leger, was not more happy.

This last-named officer, with seventeen hundred men, got under way toward the last of July. Of his march and proceedings, Mr. Stone gives a clear and full account from the original papers.* His van-guard, with which was Brant, came before Fort Schuyler on the 2d of August, just after a reinforcement of two hundred men, and several boat-loads of provisions, had been safely housed. The main British force reached the post on the 3d. St. Leger, as we have said, had seventeen hundred men ; Colonel Gansevoort, who commanded the Americans, had seven hundred and fifty, with food and powder, however, for six weeks. Thus supplied, the provincials were prepared to stand a strong siege, although their works were in a bad condition. One thing they needed, a flag ; but this they soon furnished from red and white shirts, and a blue camblet cloak which was at hand, and the stars and stripes were, in a little while, waving above them.

Meantime, news having gone down the Mohawk of the approach of the British army, the militia of that region were

* Stone, Vol. I. pp. 209 - 264.

called in, and assembled at German Flats, to the number of near a thousand, under the command of General Herkimer. This brave old officer, while on his march to the relief of Fort Schuyler, was induced, by circumstances related by Mr. Stone, to doubt the propriety of advancing ; but, being taunted by some of his subordinates with Toryism and cowardice, he suffered his judgment to be overruled, and gave the order to march on. His body of untrained soldiers marched on at the command, in such form and disposition as to expose themselves not a little. By and by they came to a ravine. In the same loose order, in which they had hitherto been advancing, they entered it. When nearly the whole body of troops were within its limits, those in advance and upon the flanks were shot down by an unseen enemy, and the forest rang with the true Indian yell. It was Brant and his warriors ; and the battle that followed is known as the battle of Oriskany. The British force, under the direction of Brant, as Mr. Stone thinks, had disposed itself in a circular form, so that, no sooner had the provincials entered through a gap left at one point of the circle, than the whole of them were surrounded, with the exception of the rear-guard, which ran away. And then began one of those contests which are very like to the battles of Homer and Scott, had we but a Homer or Scott to describe them ; — a battle of man against man ; of individual prowess ; of individual glory ; not a battle of *manœuvre*, (which, despite its name, is not hand-work, but head-work,) but of the true hand-work, and well worthy of being sung, if we could but get rid of the Dutch names of Herkimer, and Visscher, and Van Sluyck. It was a battle too, we regret to say, of that individual hatred which the knights of old did not feel for one another. Here were the rebels who had denied their king ; there the traitors who were fighting against their country. Bitter indeed was the feeling between them, brother even seeking the life of brother.

Two men, especially, distinguished themselves on that day, Captain Gardinier and Captain Dillinback. The former, seeing one of his men seized by a pretended friend, but real enemy, sprang upon the captor, and levelled him with his spear, (for he fought with the arms as well as the spirit of Hector and *Cœur-de-lion*,) and rescued the man. Others sprang upon him. The first that came, “ with mor-

tal thrust he slew," and the second, sent howling and limping back to the British ranks. But those ranks were yet full, and three of the enraged Tories (for he was contending with Americans and neighbours) sprang upon him. Not even three, however, could conquer him. He kept them at bay, until, in the struggle, one of his spurs caught in the clothes of an opponent, and he was tripped, and fell. Now his case seemed desperate indeed. Two of the three Tories instantly struck with their bayonets, and pinned both legs to the earth. The third aimed a more deadly blow at his heart, but Gardinier caught the bayonet, and, by main strength, drew his assailant down upon his own body, and held him there as a shield against the thrusts of the others. All this had passed like thought ; but, the instant his men saw the condition of their leader, they sprang to his rescue. Relieved from the bayonets above, Gardinier released the Tory who was upon him, and, seizing his spear in his lacerated hand, half rose, and buried it in the body of his antagonist.

The other hero of this battle, Captain Dillinback, was one who had often said, that he would never be taken prisoner. In the midst of the uproar, three of Johnson's men, who knew well the Captain's saying, rushed together to seize him. One of them succeeded in seizing his gun, for they came upon him unexpectedly. But Dillinback, though surprised, was not captured ; he wrested his weapon from his antagonist, levelled him with the butt, shot the second, and bayoneted the third ! So he fulfilled his saying, that he would never be a prisoner ; but, even at the instant of fulfilment, a ball struck him, and he fell dead.

Herkimer had been badly wounded early in the action ; but he remained upon the field, and, sitting in his saddle, supported by a tree, smoked his pipe, and ordered the battle. It lasted six hours, and was, in spite of odds, a drawn game at last. The British killed most men, and the Americans remained masters of the field.

Meanwhile, during the battle of Oriskany, a sortie had been made from the besieged fort, by Colonel Willett, against the nearly deserted camp of John Johnson. It was entirely successful ; much plunder and some prisoners being taken, without the loss of a man on the part of the Americans. The British colors, that were found, were immedi-

ately hoisted under those of America (the old camblet cloak and red shirt), and the besiegers treated to a hearty cheer by the inspirited garrison. Of the various steps taken, after this time, to secure the fort for the King and for the Province, we cannot speak. The rebels, in the end, were successful. St. Leger abandoned the siege, and marched back to Lake Ontario. Of all these steps, Mr. Stone gives a full account from original sources. From him we have derived the facts just given, and to him all that may write of those events will be indebted for much, that is interesting, and now first brought to light.

While in the North the Iroquois were acting with the British against the colonists, in the South all remained quiet, and in the West all remained uncertain. The Shawanese, irritated by the death of Cornstalk, still pretended to wish for peace, while they continually annoyed the settlers in Kentucky, and all those who passed up and down the Ohio River. The Delawares were, as ever, divided, though great efforts were made by the Wyandots, and other tribes more nearly under British influence, to persuade or drive them into the war.* Those more distant nations themselves waited only for the opportunity to strike some decided blow, and, meanwhile, continued to harass the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, causing great distress and fear. Through their incursions during the autumn of 1777, the steps taken by Hamilton, then Lieutenant-Governor of Detroit, to enlist the savages, became known, some of his proclamations having been left by them during their visits; and Congress was led to feel the necessity of now becoming masters, if possible, of those western posts, from which arms, ammunition, and spirits were supplied to the inimical red men. Upon the 20th of November a report was made to Congress, in which this necessity was urged, and also the need that existed, of taking some measures to prevent the spirit of disaffection from spreading among the frontier inhabitants.† Three commissioners also were chosen to go to Fort Pitt, for the purpose of inquiring into the causes of the frontier difficulties, and of doing what could be done to secure all the whites to the American cause, to cultivate the friendship of the Shawanese and Delawares, and to concert with General

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, pp. 150, *et seq.* — Butler's *Kentucky*.

† *Old Journals*, Vol. II. p. 340.

Hand some measures for pushing the war westward, so as to obtain possession of Detroit and other posts. General Washington was also requested to send Colonel William Crawford, an old pioneer, to take the active command in the West ; and he accordingly left head-quarters upon the 25th.*

While Congress was resolving upon the necessity of capturing Detroit and Lieutenant-Governor Hamilton, there was one man west of the mountains, who was also resolving, not only that it must be done, but that he would do it. This was George Rogers Clark, a man whose biography is not yet written, but who may compare with any general of our Revolution, except the matchless one, for decision, intrepidity, energy, forethought, and good sense. He was the best soldier that has ever led our troops against the Indians, and knew, better than any other man of his day, how to control those uncontrollable beings. Clark was the true founder of Kentucky, and deserves to have his name enrolled among those of whom full and detailed biographies are written. We hope that some one of the innumerable penmen of the day will be wise enough, and patriotic enough, to collect the papers and anecdotes which are still accessible, and combine them into such a form as he can. We care not very much, indeed, what the form of such a work, published now, is, provided it does but collect and perpetuate the materials, from which a nobler and more perfect work may be prepared by and by.

Clark went to the West in 1775. In 1776 he was busy in organizing his adopted land, Kentucky, in order to prepare her for becoming an independent State. In 1777, perceiving that it was from Kaskaskia, Cahokia, Vincennes, and Detroit, that the Indians, who never ceased to annoy the pioneers, were supplied, he sent spies to examine the state of things at and about those posts ; and, having received their report, upon the 1st of October, he started for Virginia, to lay the matter before the governor of the parent State. Patrick Henry was then in the executive chair of Virginia ; and to him Clark made known his plans early in December. The Governor liked the proposed campaign very much, but could scarce think it possible it should succeed, so distant were the posts to be attacked, so small the force that could

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. V. p. 169.

be used for the purpose, and so mighty the power of Britain. However, Burgoyne had been defeated, and the colonists were gathering courage ; Clark was well known as a most active and persevering man ; and, his purposes having been fully explained, and fully approved by competent and critical judges, he succeeded in getting the Governor and Council to enter heart and soul into his scheme, and upon the 2d of January received his orders and outfit. Of his various acts and his wonderful success, we shall say little, referring our readers to the account already given by us of him, when reviewing Mr. Butler's "*History of Kentucky*."*

We have now, in our rambling way, brought matters down to the opening of 1778. During the spring of that year, there continued the same uncertainty as to the intentions of the western and northern tribes, and the outposts still suffered from incursions and petty attacks. A fort was built, early in the summer of that year, upon the banks of the Ohio a little below Pittsburg, near the spot where Beaver now stands. It was built by General M^cIntosh, and was named with his name.† From this point it was intended to operate in reducing Detroit, where mischief was still brewing. Indeed, the natives were now more united than ever against the colonies. In June we find Congress in possession of information, that led them to think a universal frontier war close at hand.‡ The Senecas, Cayugas, Mingoes (by which, we presume, were meant the Ohio Iroquois, or possibly the Mohawks), Wyandots, Onondagas, Ottawas, Chippeways, Shawanese, and Delawares, were all said to be more or less united in opposition to America. This union, Mr. Stone hints, was brought about by Brant ; § but he gives us no evidence on that point. Indeed, he has not much to say about the subject of his biography in this portion of it, most of his pages being filled with accounts of those events in which Brant took part only now and then. Congress, learning the danger to be so immediate and great, determined to push on the Detroit expedition, and ordered another to be undertaken up the Mohawk valley against the Senecas, who might otherwise very much annoy and impede the march

* *North American Review*, Vol. XLIII. pp. 1 *et seq.*

† Doddridge, p. 243. — Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXXI. Art. I.

‡ *Journals of the Old Congress*, Vol. II. p. 585.

§ Stone, Vol. I. p. 304.

from Port Pitt. For the capture of Detroit, three thousand Continental troops and two thousand five hundred militia were voted ; an appropriation was made of nearly a million of dollars ; and General McIntosh, who had been appointed late in May,* by Washington, to succeed General Hand as commander of Fort Pitt and the western forces, was to carry forward the needful operations.

All the flourish which was made about taking Detroit, however, and conquering the Senecas, ended in the Resolves of Congress, it being finally thought too late in the season for advantageous action, and also too great an undertaking for the weak-handed colonies.† Clark, however, held on his way, and did his work, reducing Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and Vincennes, and catching the “ hair-buying General ” Hamilton.

But, strange to say, on the very night on which Clark entered Kaskaskia, far away in the western wilderness, and sent his men yelling, like Indians, round the town, in order to scare the inhabitants into non-resistance, on that same night *genuine* Indian yells,

“ And sounds that mingled laugh, and shout, and scream,”

were echoing through the vale of Wyoming.

Of all that was horrible in the transactions of that night, and of the many errors and exaggerations in the accounts of it, we shall say nothing, but refer the reader to Mr. Stone, who purges the Indians in part, and Brant entirely, of blame. Indeed the Mohawk chieftain had been acquitted of any share in that night's doings by Campbell, who had damned him to everlasting fame as a monster, some years since.

Nor was Wyoming the only place which suffered during the summer of 1778. It was on the 4th of July, that the beautiful valley of the Susquehanna was sacked, and, on the 18th, Brant, with his fire and knife, was busy on the Mohawk. In the remote West there was trouble too. Boone, who had passed his winter and spring among the Shawanese, a prisoner, and yet a trusted friend (so genuine a woodsman was he), went from them upon the 16th of June “ at sunrise,” leaving no message, for he saw that near five hundred warriors were gathering to attack Kentucky. Four days he trav-

* Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. V. p. 382.

† *Journals of the Old Congress*, Vol. II. p. 633.

elled, averaging forty miles a day, and ate one meal on the journey, and then reached Boonesborough. Here he prepared every thing for war, and sat recruiting until the 1st of August, when he started with nineteen men to attack a town on the Scioto, far in the enemy's country. He was gone a week, and got back just before his post was called to surrender by a large body of Indians, who came, with a dozen Frenchmen, to demand the country in the name of his British Majesty. Boone, having no acquaintance with his British Majesty, but being intimate with the Shawanese, and knowing their pleasant mode of treating prisoners, declined ; and then came a siege of ten days, in which so many guns were fired, that the besieged, afterwards, picked up one hundred and twenty-five pounds of bullets on the ground about the fort. The British force of French and Indians, having used up their ammunition, and lost about forty men, at last determined to retire, and leave Kentucky in peace again.*

The siege of Boonesborough was raised upon the 20th of August, and within a few days after that time another movement was made by Brant and his bloody followers against the settlement of German Flats. This settlement was about the junction of West Canada Creek, the stream on which are Trenton Falls, with the Mohawk river, and was one of the richest frontier posts. This attack was followed, in November, by the destruction of the settlement at Cherry Valley, nearly south of the Flats. Here the scenes of Wyoming were reënacted, and, as most have written, under the eye of Brant again ; but Mr. Stone is prompt to defend his hero against all charges of cruelty, and presents us with strong reasons for thinking this, too, a slander. He had not the command, he says, and, though present, did all in his power to prevent, not to forward slaughter.

We have only one other act to record of 1778 ; the movement of General M^cIntosh. When it was found to be beyond hope to take Detroit at once, it was resolved, that the forces in the West should move up, and attack the Wyandots and other Indians about the Sandusky ; † and a body of troops was accordingly marched forward to prepare a half-way house, or post, by which the necessary connexion might be kept up. This was built upon the Tuscarawas, a few miles

* Butler's *Kentucky*, pp. 96, *et seq.*

† *Journals of the Old Congress*, Vol. II. p. 633.

south of where Bolivar now is, and was called Fort Laurens ; the Ohio canal, in these peaceful days, passes directly through it.* Here Colonel John Gibson was left with one hundred and fifty men to get through the winter as he best could, while McIntosh himself returned to Pittsburg, disappointed and dispirited.† Nor was Congress in a very good humor with him, for already had six months passed to no purpose. Washington was consulted, but could give no definite advice, knowing nothing of those details which must determine the course of things for the winter. McIntosh, at length, in February, asked leave to retire from his unsatisfactory command, and was allowed to do so. His garrison at Fort Laurens, meantime, had been suffering cruelly, both from the Indians and famine, and, though finally rescued from starvation, had done, and could do, nothing.

But, while McIntosh was groaning and doing nothing, his fellow General, Clark, was very differently employed. Governor Hamilton, having made his various arrangements, had left Detroit, and moved down to St. Vincent's (or Vincennes), on the Wabash, from which point he intended to operate in reducing Kaskaskia and Cahokia, and also in conquering Kentucky, and driving the rebels from the West. But in the very process of taking St. Vincent's, he met with treatment that might have caused a more modest man to doubt the possibility of conquering those rebels. Hamilton came upon that post, which had been surrendered to the Americans in the summer of 1778, in December of that year. He came with a large body of troops, and unexpectedly ; so that there was no chance of defence on the part of the garrison, which consisted of only two men, Captain Helm, of Fauquier in Virginia, and one Henry. Helm, however, was not disposed to yield, absolutely, to any odds ; so, loading his single cannon, he stood by it with a lighted match, and, as the British came nigh, bade them stand, and demanded to know what terms would be granted the garrison, as otherwise he should not surrender. The Governor, unwilling to lose time and men, offered the usual honors of war, and could scarce believe his eyes, when he saw the threatening garrison to be only one officer and one private. However, even this bold conduct did not make him feel the character

* Doddridge, p. 244. — Silliman's *Journal*, Vol. XXXI. p. 57.

† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. VI. p. 156.

of the people with whom he was contending ; and so, thinking it too late to operate in such a country, he scattered his Indians, of whom he had some four hundred, and sat himself down for the winter.

Information of all these proceedings having reached Clark, he saw, at once, that either he must have Hamilton, or Hamilton would have him ; so he cast about him, to see what means of conquest were within his reach. On the 29th of January, 1779, the news of the capture of St. Vincent's reached Kaskaskia, and, by the 4th of February, a " bat-toe," as Colonel Bowman writes it, had been repaired, provisioned, manned, and armed, and was on her way down the Mississippi, in order to ascend the Ohio and Wabash, and co-operate with the land forces which were assembling. These forces, on the 5th of February, numbered one hundred and seventy men, " including artillery, packhorsemen, &c." and with this little band, on that day Clark set forward to besiege the British governor, who had under him about half as many men, as a garrison. It was " rain and drizzly weather," and the " roads very bad with mud and water ;" but through those prairie ways, and the waters which covered some of the plains, the little rebel band slipped and spattered along, crossing rivers on trees felled for the purpose, and killing a buffalo occasionally, but all the way marching through unceasing rain, till, upon the 13th, they reached the Wabash. This they crossed in a canoe, it being three miles from shore to shore, the whole country between the Great and Little Wabash, near the junction of which they were, being under water, in consequence of the extraordinary rains ; and " still raining," writes Colonel Bowman, every day. It was what we call in New England " a spell of weather." And, in addition to all this water, there was lack of provisions ; on the 19th, says Bowman's Journal, " No food of any sort for two days ;" and, on the 20th, he writes, " Camp very quiet, but hungry." But the wet and hungry little army was now almost in sight of St. Vincent's, and heard the Governor's guns, morning and evening, so that provisions were less necessary. They at times killed a deer, also, and had a mouthful all round. On the 23d, however, matters seemed desperate. The weather had grown cooler, so that it froze, and the men were marching across a plain, four miles in diameter, with the water breast high. Notwithstanding all

this, though, they made progress, and on that day saw the town ; and that night, with " colors flying, and drums braced, and water up to their arm-pits," marched up to the post and besieged it. The next morning, the poor drenched army had a breakfast, " the only meal's victuals " for six days.

Through all the toil, the marching, the wading, and the starving, Clark had been, as we might suppose, foremost ; and he now felt disposed to show no favor to those who had brought him so far, and through such roads. His demand upon the Governor to yield was not, therefore, written with that regard to formal diplomacy, which the Briton would have liked. Thus ran the missive.

" SIR, — In order to save yourself from the impending storm which now threatens you, I order you immediately to surrender yourself, with all your garrison, stores, &c. ; for, if I am obliged to storm, you may depend on such treatment as is justly due to a murderer. Beware of destroying stores of any kind, or any papers or letters that are in your possession, or hurting any house in town ; for, by Heaven ! if you do, there shall be no mercy shown you. G. R. CLARK."

To this the Governor replied, that he could not think of being " awed into any action unworthy a British subject " ; but his true feeling peeped out in his question to Helm, when the bullets rattled about the chimney of the room in which they were playing piquet together, and Helm swore that Clark would have them prisoners. " Is he a merciful man ? " said the Governor.

Clark, finding the British unwilling to yield quietly, began " firing very hot." When this came on, Helm cautioned the English soldiers not to look out through the loop-holes ; for these Virginian riflemen, he said, would shoot their eyes out, if they did. And several being actually killed by balls which came through the port-holes, Hamilton was led to propose a truce, and some conversation ; which ended in a surrender of the fort to Clark.*

Detroit was now within the reach of the enterprising Virginian, had he but been able to raise one third as many soldiers as were starving and idling at forts Laurens and McIntosh. He could not ; and Governor Henry having promised him a

* Butler's *Kentucky* and Bowman's *Manuscript Journal*.

reinforcement, he concluded to wait for that, as his force was too small to both conquer and garrison the British forts. But the results of what was done were not unimportant ; indeed, we cannot estimate those results. Hamilton had made arrangements to enlist the western and southern Indians * for the next spring's campaign ; and, if Mr. Stone be correct in his suppositions, Brant and his Iroquois were to act in concert with him.† Had Clark, therefore, failed to conquer the Governor, there is too much reason to fear, that the West would have been, indeed, swept, from the Mississippi to the mountains, and the great blow struck, which had been contemplated, from the outset, by Britain. But for his small army of dripping, but fearless Virginians, the union of all the tribes from Georgia to Maine, against the colonies, might have been effected, and the whole current of our history changed.

Before leaving Clark, we would notice one expression, used by Mr. Stone, which does that bold partisan injustice. He says, " An expedition was organized against Kaskaskia, and Clark intrusted with the command of it ; "‡ whereas the truth was, as we have stated, that Clark *originated* and carried through the whole plan.

Turning from the West to the North, we find a new cause of trouble arising there. Of the six tribes of the Iroquois, the Senecas, Mohawks, Cayugas, and Onondagas, had been, from the outset, inclining to Britain, though all of these, but the Mohawks, had now and then tried to persuade the Americans to the contrary. During the winter of 1778-9, the Onondagas, who had been for a while nearly neutral, were suspected, by the Americans, of deception ; and, this suspicion having become nearly knowledge, a band was sent, early in April, to destroy their towns, and take such of them, as could be taken, prisoners. The work appointed was done, and the villages and wealth of the poor savages were annihilated. This sudden act of severity startled all. The Oneidas, hitherto faithful to their neutrality, were alarmed, lest the next blow should fall on them, and it was only after a full explanation, that their fears were quieted. As for the Onondagas, it was not to be hoped that they would sit down under such treatment ; and we find, accordingly, that some hundred of their warriors were at once in the field, and from that time

* Butler, p. 80.

† Stone, Vol. I. p. 400.

‡ Ibid., p. 352.

forward, a portion of their nation remained, and, we think, justly, hostile to the United Colonies.*

Those colonies, meanwhile, had become convinced, from the massacres at Wyoming and Cherry Valley, that it was advisable to adopt some means of securing the northwestern and western frontiers against the recurrence of such catastrophes ; and, the hostile tribes of the Six Nations being the most numerous and deadly foes, it was concluded to begin by strong action against them. Washington had always said, that the only proper mode of defence against the Indians was to attack them, and this mode he determined to adopt on this occasion. Some difference of opinion existed, however, as to the best path into the country of the inimical Iroquois ; that most lovely country in the west of New York, which is now fast growing into a granary for millions of men. General Schuyler was in favor of a movement up the Mohawk river ; the objection to which route was, that it carried the invaders too near to Lake Ontario, and within reach of the British. The other course proposed was up the Susquehanna, which heads, as all know, in the region that was to be reached. The latter route was the one determined upon by Washington for the main body of troops, which was to be joined by another body moving up the Mohawk, and also by detachments coming from the western army, by the way of the Alleghany and French Creek ; upon further thought, however, the movement from the West was countermanded.† All the arrangements for this grand blow were made in March and April, but it was the last of July before General Sullivan got his men under way from Wyoming, where they had gathered ; and, of course, information of the proposed movements had been given to the Indians and Tories, so that Brant, the Johnsons, and their followers, stood ready to receive the invaders.

They were not, however, strong enough to withstand the Americans ; and, having been defeated at the battle of Newtown, were driven from village to village, and their whole country was laid waste. Houses were burned, crops and orchards destroyed, and every thing done, that could be thought of, to render the country uninhabitable. Of all these steps Mr. Stone speaks fully. Forty towns, he tells us, were burnt,

* Stone, Vol. I. p. 405. † Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. VI. pp. 183, *et seq.*

and more than one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn. Well did the Senecas name Washington, whose armies did all this, "the Town-Destroyer." Having performed this portion of his work, Sullivan turned homeward again from the beautiful valley of the Genesee; leaving Niagara, whither the Indians fled, as to the stronghold of British power in that neighbourhood, untouched. This conduct, Mr. Stone thinks "difficult of solution,"* as he supposes the conquest of that post to have been one of the main objects of the expedition. Such, however, was not the fact. Originally it had been part of the proposed plan to attack Niagara;† but, early in January, Washington was led to doubt, and then to abandon, that part of the plan, thinking it wiser to carry on, merely, "some operations on a smaller scale against the savages."‡

One of these smaller operations was the march of Colonel Daniel Brodhead, who had succeeded M^cIntosh in command at Fort Pitt, against the tribes along the Alleghany and up French Creek. These tribes Washington speaks of, as "the Mingo and Muncey tribes," to which Mr. Stone adds the Senecas,§ as though he were ignorant, that the Senecas formed one of the Mingo tribes, the very one, doubtless, referred to by Washington under the general term. The towns of these Indians were also laid waste, and their crops destroyed.

The immediate result of these prompt and severe measures, was to bring the Delawares, Shawanese, and even the Wyandots, to Fort Pitt, on a treaty of peace. There Brodhead met them, on his return in September, and a long conference was held, to the satisfaction of both parties. Further west, in July, Colonel Bowman had made an unsuccessful attack upon the Shawanese village, known to us as Chilli-cothe, in the Miami country; and, in November, Rogers and Benham suffered terribly in a battle with the savages opposite the mouth of the Little Miami. Into the particulars of these battles we cannot enter. Indeed, much as has been written about them, we are yet in the dark, touching many points that ought to be perfectly understood. For instance, there is still some doubt as to the position of the In-

* Vol. II. p. 36.† Sparks's *Washington*, Vol. VI. pp. 120, 146.

‡ Ibid., pp. 162–166.

§ Vol. II. p. 41.

dian towns, against which expeditions marched from Kentucky, in 1779, 1780, and afterwards. And with respect to those very savages, from whom Rogers and his comrades suffered so much, there is doubt. Butler says, they were going against Kentucky, "under Birde, a Canadian Frenchman," and quotes from a letter written to him by the son of Benham, who was with the sufferers, and one of the greatest of them. But did not Mr. Benham, the son, refer to that expedition, under Colonel Byrd, in June, 1780, spoken of by Butler a little further on ? *

The events of 1779, in the West, with the exception of Clark's grand blow, were far less favorable than among, and east of, the mountains. The next year, however, saw the scene reversed ; for, though Byrd, with forces such as had not been before seen on the dark and bloody ground, marched into the very centre of it, and seemed in the way of utterly sweeping it of its settlers and stations, he in truth did but little. And that little was more than avenged by the excursion of Clark against the Miami Shawanese. With nearly a thousand men he marched from the spot where Cincinnati now stands, against the towns upon the Little Miami and Mad River, all of which he destroyed, together with the crops standing about them, and so effectually defeated and stripped the savages, as to prevent any considerable annoyance, on their part, for more than a twelvemonth afterwards.† The Mohawk valley, during that same summer, saw other scenes enacted. The Johnsons and Brant came upon it three several times, burning, killing, wasting ; so that, by autumn, the whole country, above Schenectady, was a wilderness. It was a fearful retaliation for the devastations of Sullivan. In the course of that sad summer many curious and interesting events and adventures occurred, of which Mr. Stone speaks

* See Butler, pp. 103, 110, 550. Upon this and many similar points of western history, we hope to be enlightened by a work, which we hear that Dr. Drake, of Cincinnati, has in hand ; a full history of that city, founded upon an Address, delivered by him at the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the settlement of that growing place. This writer, as a writer of fact, takes precedence, in our opinion, of all those that have thus far arisen in the West. His "Picture of Cincinnati," published twenty years since, is still sought after, and deservedly so. It is just what it claimed to be. And we do not doubt, that his forthcoming work will be equally creditable to him and his adopted land ; for we believe that he is not a native of the West, though early there.

† Butler, pp. 110, 117.

fully. Indeed, this is among the most interesting and original portions of his volumes. Into most of his details we cannot, of course, follow him, but must ask our reader's patience, for a few moments, while we tell the story of the Sammons family, greatly abridged, however, from the narrative given by our author.*

Old Mr. Sammons, with three sons and one or more daughters, lived upon the old Johnson estate, which had been sequestered. Sampson, the father, was a sturdy old Whig, and well known to Sir John, whom he had often had a talk with about the rebellion. His sons, Frederick, Jacob, and Thomas, the youngest eighteen at the time of which we write, were much of the same mind and body; young Sampsons, knotty and fearless. Sir John, knowing their characters, thought he would catch them alive, and take them to Canada; so he sent his Indians out of the way, and, by good management, captured the whole race early in the morning, without a blow. The old man and his boys were at once bound, and marched off in the direction of Canada, though but a little way. That night the youngest boy, by the aid of the wife of a British officer, managed to escape; and the next morning, the father, having procured an interview with the Tory chief, read him such a lecture upon the ingratitude of thus treating one, who had formerly stood by him, and upon the iniquity of his conduct generally, that he too was set free, and a span of his horses returned to him. But Frederick and Jacob were less fortunate, and were taken to the fortress of Chamblee, just within Canada, between Lake Champlain and the St. Lawrence. At that post there were about seventy prisoners, and not a very strong garrison; so that the first thing, to which the young Sampsons made up their minds, was an escape. Finding however, their fellow-captives indisposed to do any thing for themselves, Jacob and Frederick determined to act without the rest; and, accordingly, the first time they were taken out of the fort together, to assist in some common service, they sprang from the ranks, at a concerted signal, and "put," as the phrase is in the West. The guards, startled, and less fleet of foot, could not catch them, and, though Jacob fell and sprained his ankle, he managed, under cover of the

* Stone, Vol. II. pp. 72 - 136.

smoke, produced by the gun-shots made at them, to hide himself in a clump of bushes, which his pursuers did not think of searching. It had been agreed, previously, between the brothers, that, in case of separation, they were to meet at a known spot at ten o'clock at night. Jacob, the lame one, mistook the hour, and, having gone to the spot and not finding his brother there, he left it, with the intention of getting as far from the fort as possible before daylight, his accident making time especially important to him. He accordingly pushed up the western bank of the Sorel river toward Lake Champlain, intending to swim it just below the lake, and then find his way along the eastern shore. Various events, however, occurred to prevent his doing this ; but, after running great risk, by putting himself within the power of a Tory, whose chief excellence seems to have been the possession of a most kind and fearless wife, he was so lucky as to find a canoe, of which he took charge, and in which he made good headway toward home, until, in one of the narrow passes of Champlain, the British fortifications, on both sides, forced him to leave his vessel and take to the woods again.

He was without shoes, food, or gun, and had to find his way to Albany, through an unknown wilderness, along the Vermont shore. For four days he lived on birch-bark. Then he caught a few fish, and managed also to secure a wild duck. The fish and duck he ate raw. Thus he labored on during ten days. His feet, meanwhile, had become so badly cut, and so intolerably sore, that he could scarce crawl, and swarms of mosquitoes made every moment of rest a moment of misery. While thus wretched and worn out, he was bitten upon the calf of the leg by a rattlesnake. And what did this young Sampson do then ? Yield and die ? Not he. With one stroke of his jack-knife he laid his leg open, producing a plenteous flow of blood ; and, with another, slew the poisonous reptile. And then came a day or two of such experience as few meet with in this life. Sammons, worn to a skeleton, with feet ragged from wear and tear, — his leg wounded and not a soul within twenty miles to help, — lay there under the log where he had been bitten, a little fire burning by him, which he had kindled by the aid of a dry fungus, — living on the rattlesnake which he had slain ! He ate the heart and fat first, says Mr. Stone, and felt strengthened by the repast. What a power there is in such a soul !

Truly he might say with Sampson of old, "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness." There he lay, under that log, for three days ; patient and surgeon, sick man, hunter, cook, and nurse, all in one. On the third day his snake was nearly picked to the bones, and he was too weak to fetch wood to cook the remainder. Sammons made up his mind, that death could not be postponed ; and, having already shown how little division of labor was needed in such cases, determined to essay one more office, and by his knife proceeded to carve his epitaph on the log by his side. But God was not afar off from that brave man. He fell asleep, and strength from unknown sources flowed into his limbs. On the fourth day he rose refreshed, and, having made sandals of his hat and waistcoat, proceeded to hobble on his way once more, taking with him, as stores, the unconsumed portion of his snake. That night, again, he was comforted, being assured, by some means unknown to him, that he was near fellow-men. Rising with this faith, he struggled on till afternoon, when he reached a house and was safe. It was the 28th of June, 1780. Such were the fortunes of Jacob Sammons.

His brother Frederick, was less fortunate. He had made many efforts, to no purpose, to find Jacob, who, when he fell, would not permit Frederick to stop and help him ; and, in seeking him, had run many risks. At length he crossed the Sorel ; killed an ox ; made himself some jerked beef ; and for seven days travelled along the eastern shore of Champlain without ill luck. But, on the morning of the 8th day, he awoke sick ; a pleurisy was upon him ; a fever in his veins ; pain in every limb. It began to rain also, and there he lay, this other young Sampson, close by his brother, who, at that very moment, in that very neighbourhood, was nursing his rattlesnake bite ;—there he lay, knowing not that any was near him, for three days, on the earth, in the summer rain, and his blood all on fire. For three days, we say, he lay thus helpless. On the fourth day he was better, and tried to eat a little of his beef, but it was spoiled. He managed, however, to crawl to a frog-pond near by, a green and slimy pond, where the last year's leaves were rotting, and the bubbles rose of a hot day. He crawled thither, and put aside the green coating of the pool, and drank. He caught frogs, too, and feasted, though not a Frenchman in

any of his tastes probably. There he lay, for fourteen days and nights, living by the life that was in him. Having expected death, he put up his hat upon a pole, so that it might be seen from the lake. It was seen by an enemy ; and he was found senseless and speechless, and carried, — shame on the human creature that bore him, — back to his prison again. And not to his prison only, but to its darkest dungeon ; and there, for fourteen months, in utter darkness, he lay in irons ; in irons so heavy and so tight, that they ate into the flesh of his legs, so that the flesh came off to the bone. And for fifty-six years afterwards, — for this young Sampson was living in 1837, and may be living yet, — the wounds then made did not heal. The British officer, whose heart enabled him, knowingly, to do this thing, was named (how aptly !) Steele. He was a Captain in the thirty-second regiment. May God have mercy upon his soul.

But our Sampson's adventures are not yet ended ; for neither was his captivity over, nor his spirit broken. In November, 1781, he, with others, was transferred to an island above Montreal, in the rapids of the St. Lawrence. There he, as a first step, organized another plot for escape, which failed, and, as a second step, jumped, with one other, from the island into the rapids of the great river. For four miles, through those rapids, our hero and his comrade swam, navigating among the sharp rocks and fearful shoals with what skill they had. Landing on the north side of the St. Lawrence, they fought a clubbattle with a village-full of Canadian Frenchmen ; conquered ; killed a calf ; and, seizing a canoe, tried to cross to the south side of the river. They were above the rapids of the Cedars, where no canoe can live long unguided, when their paddle broke in the mid-stream ; and once more destruction seemed certain. A fallen tree, in the branches of which they caught, saved them, however ; and, crossing the next day below the falls, they struck into the forest to seek the Hudson. For twelve more days they toiled on, living on roots, without shoes, without clothes, without hats, and reached Schenectady at last, in a plight that made Christian men give them a wide berth.

To close this strange, eventful history, — strange, and yet nowise improbable, — we have a statement which is of a kind to make men doubt, — perhaps to doubt the whole.

We will give it. When Frederick reached Schenectady, — so runs the tale, — he wrote to his father. This letter went to a Mr. De Witt's, who lived some five miles from old Sampson, and there got misplaced. Jacob, who had long since settled into his usual ways once more, when he came down to breakfast one morning, said, that he had dreamed that Frederick was well and safe, and that a letter from him lay at neighbour De Witt's. The old father laughed at the fancy of the boy, and the sisters smiled, and shook their heads, and wished it were so ; but Jacob persisted it was so, and saddled his horse and rode over. Neighbour De Witt heard his young friend, and chuckled over his notion, but said there was no such letter. "Look," said Jacob ; so the good man looked, but said there was no letter there. "Look harder," said Jacob, "move the things, and see if it has not fallen down somewhere." The worthy farmer humored his adventurous neighbour, and moved this table, and that ironing-board, and the great settle, and by and by the flour-barrel. "Ha ! what 's that ? a letter, true enough. 'To Sampson Sammons, Marbletown.' " — "Well," said De Witt, "if this is not strange ! Why, it must have been left by that officer, that went along to Philadelphia last night." "Hark to me," said Jacob, "and see if dreams don't reveal things. Do you open the letter and read it, and see if I cannot tell you what's in it." The amazed countryman opened and read, and Jacob repeated it word for word.

Such is Mr. Stone's account, based upon the statements of the Sammonses and De Witt. One question naturally occurs to the reader ; Did Mr. Stone write it after his studies in Animal Magnetism at Providence ?

But we must leave these details, and return to finish, in a few words, our process of skeletonizing. It is one of the great miseries of historical review writers, that they must often confine their labors to the most barren sketching, leaving it for others to supply those minute and personal matters to which history owes so much of its value and charm.

But, before returning to what little remains of our dry narrative, let us briefly look back over the six years which have passed since the campaign of Dunmore, in the autumn of 1774.

During 1775 offers were made, both by the Americans

and English, to the Indians, and attempts to hold them neutral, or win them to one or the other side. The savages, longing generally to see the invaders driven from their hunting-grounds, and knowing, apart from all merits, that the Americans possessed those grounds, were inclined to side with England ; and hesitated, in most instances, only till the result of the first campaign should show them the probable result of the contest. The Oneidas, and the branch of the Delawares led by White-Eyes, were exceptions to this general state of the red men. They were from the outset, and continued till the last, true friends of the provinces. The year 1775, therefore, produced no results, so far as active operations were concerned. But the general tendency of the Iroquois in the north, the Delawares, Shawanese, Wyandots, Miamis, and Chippeways, in the west, and the Cherokees, Creeks, and Chickasaws, in the south, was in favor of England.

In 1776, the Iroquois went over openly to Britain ; the Shawanese, and their more western neighbours, were also minded to war for the mother country ; and in the south the Cherokees rose, laid waste the Carolina frontiers, and were conquered.

The years 1777 — 1780 found the Iroquois first scourging the valleys of the Mohawk and upper Susquehanna ; then houseless themselves ; and then, once more in the ascendant, laying waste the country of their foes, till it was a desert from Ontario to the Hudson. Those same years found the Delawares still divided, but the American party faithful to their original undertaking. This fidelity at last, after the death of White-Eyes, who died in the winter of 1779–80, at Fort Laurens, of small-pox, obliged the chiefs to leave their country and go to Pittsburg ; Pipe having, after the decease of his great rival and controller, obtained a strong influence in the nation. In the autumn of 1780, therefore, we may say that the Delawares were mainly in the British interest.

The Shawanese, from 1776 to 1780, were also in the main against the colonies, one tribe only being with them ; but this nation had suffered so much from the Kentuckians, that in the autumn of 1780 they were very quiet.

Their northwestern neighbours had suffered less, and were less overawed, but yet had been much cooled, in their loy-

alty to England, by Clark's campaigns on the Mississippi and Wabash.

The Cherokees, during this time, had been quiet, but were fast rousing to action again. Had not Hamilton been captured, they would have been with him in his devastation of the western country ; and they stood ready to strike whenever the time came. That time came, as they thought, in the summer of 1781, and an attack was made by the Cherokees and Chickasaws upon the frontiers of South Carolina. It did, however, but little damage ; and General Pickens, with about four hundred men on horseback, having ridden into the Indian country, and tried upon them a new mode of attack, — namely, a sudden charge with swords, — the warriors gave way. In fourteen days the General destroyed thirteen towns, and took many prisoners, and all without the loss of a man. In the autumn a new treaty of peace was made, and after that time no further trouble occurred with those two tribes. Their neighbours, the Creeks, tried their hand against General Wayne, near Savannah, in June of the following year. They fought well, and for a time had the better of the battle ; but in the end were defeated. Peace was preserved with them also from that time.*

During 1781 the Iroquois and their helpmates, the Tories, were wasting and slaughtering with renewed vigor, and but one happy event for the colonists occurred in the regions which they visited. That was the death of Walter N. Butler, the famous Tory leader, a man of great ability, great courage, and vile passions ; a sort of reversed Marion. He was killed in one of the skirmishes of October, 1781, by an Oneida Indian.† After that autumn no hostile events of importance occurred in the Mohawk valley.

We have left us, then, for examination only the doings in the west, and they were too bad to speak of otherwise than briefly. We have, already, in the course of this sketch, presented, or rather hinted at, our views of British proceedings respecting the employment of the savages. The mere enlisting of those wild allies we cannot think, in the men of that day, reprehensible. The patriots of Massachusetts and Washington would never have advocated such an enlistment, had the measure possessed to their minds the objectionable

* Holmes's *Annals*, 1781 and 1782.

† Stone, Vol. II. p. 191.

features which some see in it now-a-days. For ourselves, we see no more objection to an alliance with red men than white men, unless it can be shown to perpetuate bad blood, and produce renewed quarrel. The secrecy of the British orders and acts, we think, should long since have been dropped. If England did right, why hide her doings? If wrong, let her own them and repent. The scalp-buying we object to, as leading to personal hostility. The conduct of the Tories and Indians at Wyoming, Cherry Valley, and during the invasion of the Mohawk, was full of evil, as war must be; but we have no charge against Britain for those acts.

Upon the whole, then, the very considerable outcry against British cruelty, during the border wars, we think unfounded. We do not know of an act equal in treachery to the capture and murder of Cornstalk; nor any that can compete, in point of cruelty, with those scenes in the West which it now becomes our painful duty to relate.

We have already said not a little respecting the Delawares upon the Muskingum; but, in order to make intelligible those events to which we are now coming, we must speak of them more particularly. Some years before the revolutionary war began, those Delaware Indians, who had been converted to Christianity by the United brethren, or Moravians, had been invited by the Delawares living upon the Muskingum, to come and settle in their country.* This they did, and built there several flourishing towns. There were, therefore, at the time of which we have been treating, three classes of Delawares upon that river; the heathen peace party, which was led by White-Eyes, the heathen war party under Pipe, and the Christian Delawares. The last-named people had nothing to do with the contests between the colonies and the mother country; but, as their towns were situated about the forks of the Muskingum, and near the great war-path from the Wyandot and Miami country to the frontiers of Pennsylvania and Virginia, they were at times visited by bands from each of the warring parties. This exposed them to suspicion; the Indians thought them renegades and spies; the whites called them secret foes, and accused them of aiding their heathen brethren.

* Heckewelder's *Narrative*, Doddridge, &c.

So matters stood when, in the summer of 1781, Colonel Brodhead led a body of troops against some of the hostile Delawares. This, a portion of his followers thought, would be an excellent opportunity to destroy the Moravian towns, and it was with difficulty he could withhold them. He sent word to Heckewelder, and tried to prevent any attack upon the members of his flock. In this he appears to have succeeded ; but he did not, perhaps could not, prevent the slaughter of the prisoners taken from the hostile Delawares. First, sixteen were coolly killed, and then nearly twenty. A chief, who came under assurances of safety to Brodhead's camp, was also murdered by a noted partisan, named Wetzel.

This took place in the spring or summer of 1781. About that same time, the British commanders in the Northwest made up their minds, that the settlements of the Moravians were a great evil in their way ; as the Christian Delawares continually notified the frontier men of war-parties marching against them. It was therefore determined to destroy those settlements and remove the Indians, unless they would go, of their own accord, to some other point. This they would not do ; and in the autumn, after long and frequent talks, which may be found in Heckewelder's "Narrative," the towns were abandoned, and the inhabitants removed to the Sandusky country, where they passed the winter in a most miserable condition. This removal the Americans appear to have looked on as a voluntary going over to the British.

In the spring of 1782, some of the Moravians, who had been literally starving through the winter, returned to their old places of abode, to gather what they could of the remainder of their property, and busied themselves in collecting the corn which had been left in the fields. About the time they returned for that purpose, parties of Wyandots came down upon the settlements, and slew many. This excited the frontier-men ; and believing a connexion to exist between the acts of the Wyandots, and the late movements of the Moravians, it was determined to attack and exterminate the latter, or, at least, to waste their lands and destroy their towns. Eighty or ninety men met for the purpose of effecting the objects just named, and marched in silence and swiftness upon the devoted villages. They reached them ; by threats and lies got hold of the gleaners scattered among them, and bound their prisoners, while they deliberated on their fate.

Williamson, the commander of the party, put the question ; Shall these men, women, and children, be taken to Pittsburg, or be killed ? Of the eighty or ninety men present, sixteen or eighteen only were for granting their lives ; and the prisoners were told to prepare for death. They prepared for death, and soon were dead ; slaughtered, some say in one way, and some in another ; but thus much is known, that eighty or ninety American men murdered, in cold blood, about forty men, twenty women, and thirty-four children, — all defenceless and innocent fellow Christians.

It was in March of 1782, that this great murder was committed. And as the tiger, once having tasted blood, longs for blood, so it was with the frontier-men ; and another expedition was at once organized, to make a dash at the towns of the Moravian Delawares and Wyandots upon the Sandusky. No Indian was to be spared ; friend or foe, every red man was to die. The commander of this expedition was Colonel William Crawford, Washington's old agent in the West. He did not want to go, but found it could not be avoided. The troops, numbering nearly five hundred men, marched to the Sandusky uninterrupted. There they found the towns deserted, and the savages on the alert. A battle ensued, and the whites were forced to retreat. In their retreat many left the main body, and nearly all who did so perished. Crawford himself was taken and burnt to death, under the most horrible circumstances. We cannot detail them. In short, the whole expedition was a failure, as none ever better deserved to be.

Crawford's campaign was in June. In August a very large body of Indians appeared in Kentucky. They were met by the whites at the Blue Licks, on the Licking river, and a defeat was suffered by the Americans, which was long felt in that region, and is still familiar to all who live there. It was not too severe, however, to prevent Clark, with a thousand men, from marching into the Indian country, in September, and laying it waste so effectually as to awe the natives into comparative quiet. After that time Kentucky suffered little.

This march of Clark's, in the autumn of 1782, was indeed the last decided movement in the border wars of our Revolution. After that, personal encounters alone took place. It is true, that the western wars did not cease with the Revo-

lution. The Miamis and their allies afterwards came more prominently forward, and the well-known campaigns of Harmar, St. Clair, and Wayne wound up, for the time, the long Indian contest. From 1774 to 1795 there was not peace, northwest of the Ohio, between the white and red man. But into these wars we cannot enter, having already gone beyond our proposed limits.

Before closing, let us ask, however, What may be learned from a rapid survey of those wars which we have been glancing at?

We may learn, that England was less blameworthy than we have been used to think her.

We may learn, that the Indians took less pleasure in slaughter than we have been in the habit of saying they did. Even at Wyoming and Cherry Valley, the Tories were more murderers than their red allies.

We may learn some national modesty, by finding, that Americans were guilty of the greatest treachery and the most cold-blooded murder done in those times.

We may learn, in fine, tolerance for all. The Tory felt that he was contending against traitors, disorganizers, locofocos of the worst tint; the Whig against the tools of a tyrant, who had sold themselves into bondage for vile lucre; the Indian against the usurpers of his ancient and deep-rooted right. In all, the lowest and most desperate part of man's nature was called into action, and the result was, that all did evil and wrong, times without number.

We conclude with once more thanking Mr. Stone for his volumes. We do not think we have stated any thing which is not stated by him, and, usually, in a simple and interesting form. We wish, most heartily, that some one would follow his example, with regard to the border transactions in the South and West.
